

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

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The Decline of A Diplomatic School

The Reversal to Candor

On May 9, 1960 Secretary of State Christian A. Herter confessed to the espionage nature of the Powers' flight, further implying that such missions would be continued. His words may well have marked the end of an era in diplomacy that started with the outbreak of World War I.

Until then wars had more or less been a "private" undertaking of monarchs or governments and their state apparatus. Hired hands on both sides, not necessarily recruited from the nations at war, fought it out while the respective populations of the warring nations remained relatively uninvolved. The war itself was something remote from the average citizen, something he heard of but did not experience personally.

But with technological developments that increased the range and fire power of artillery, introduced tanks and aircraft into the armory, and mechanized transportation and troop movements, war became a total affair. No longer was there a safe distance between city and front line, and the manpower required in direct war effort (including production of armaments) was so great that entire populations were drawn into the struggle. Now the people could no longer be addressed like recruits to be hired wherever they could be found to "do a job" for one king or another. "Have gun, will travel" could no longer be the premise of the citizen's participation, since war involved too many people to enable the state treasury to pay them for the "job". A new currency, acceptable to the entire nation, had to be found. It came in the form of the "ideological" war. No longer was war admitted to serve the interests of a specific group or the ambitions of a national leader carving his niche in the halls of history. War turned "idealistic" and the soldier, no longer a hired war-hand, became a crusader for "principles".

The economic and political factors that led to World War I were carefully concealed from the citizenry; instead a gigantic propaganda apparatus kept supplying the legend that the war was being fought for the preservation of uncompromising principles. The Allies were fighting for Democracy, while the Germans under Wilhelm II were fulfilling their divine mission of spreading their Kultur.

Once created, these legends could no longer be reserved just for times of war. If diplomacy could fail and result in war, also the approaches to war had to be defined in idealistic terms. Even the division of war spoils had to be euphemized

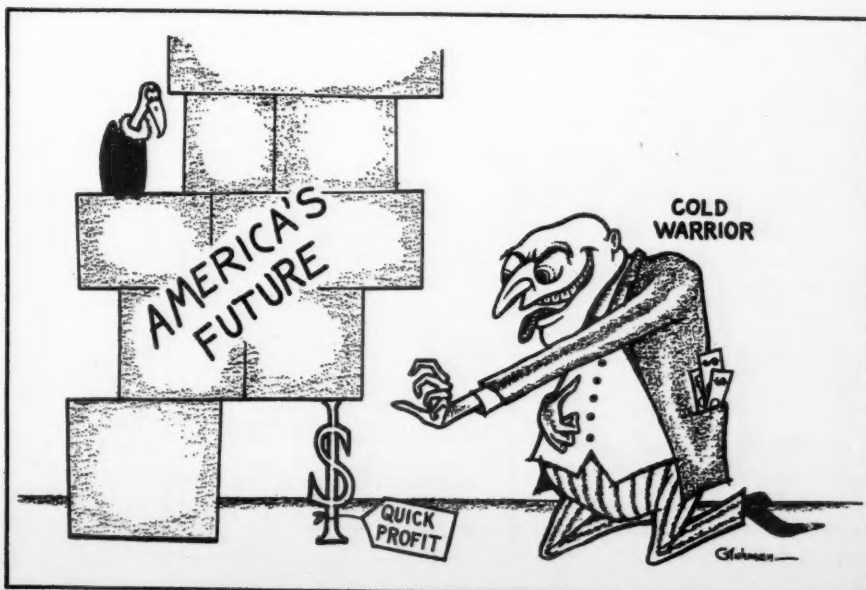
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Six Concentration Camps in America (!)

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Rep. Reece Claims McCarthy's "Crown"

—page 12



Administrative Detention

In our view there are two equally disturbing aspects in Mary Weik's report, the first installment of which is included in this issue, on six concentration camps on American soil, all ready to accommodate victims of the Administration without due process of law. The first is their existence. The second is the compliant attitude on the part of those who have known about those camps.

Mrs. Weik visited the detention camps about two years ago, and ever since she has been attempting to publish her report. Editor after editor—and only "liberal" editors were approached—expressed enthusiasm for Mrs. Weik's exposures, but after consulting their publications' management, turned down the manuscript. Other individuals reacted in an even blunter way: As Mrs. Weik wrote us: "A 'liberal', now a professor of government at a well known Eastern college, wrote that the only thing that puzzled him was why a camp planned to hold 'Communists, etc.' should be located so far from where bombs would be likely to fall . . . None of the Congressmen or Senators to whom I sent copies, returned any acknowledgement or comment."

These reactions on the part of socially sophisticated editors and politicians were sadly similar to the reactions on the part of the remote communities in which the administrative detention camps are located.

For years we have been asking the Germans how they could tolerate Nazi concentration camps. The indifference of our own public to "American" camps is no vindication of the Germans, but it is a disillusioning indictment of our own people.

Many people will resent the analogy; they will rise in "patriotic" indignation against the comparison of anything "American" with Nazi horrors. They will be emotionally convinced of their own virtues, and dismissing the petrifying truth as hostile propaganda, they will keep prospecting for ever nicer homes, cars and motor boats, attending their clubs and churches, and maintaining their mental equilibrium by being "wholesome", "patriotic", "all-around" Americans. Such people had better consider that the Nazis too were quite effective in sanctimonious self-persuasion.

The "Emergency Detention Act", which brought the detention camps into being, is a part

of the Internal Security Act (Public Law 831). It is also called the "McCarran Act" after the late Senator McCarran of Nevada, who sponsored and railroaded it through Congress, overriding a Presidential veto, on September 23, 1950.

The McCarran concentration camps will not disappear of their own accord. They must be brought from their present obscurity and made a target of national attention; a light must be turned on the hysteria and fear that wrote the witch hunting 1950 Internal Security Act and forced it through a confused Congress; and a public resolve must be made, in the name of America, to renounce such measures as unworthy of a civilized and free people.

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The Gauntlet Is Cast

When the Administration was pressuring Congress into empowering the President to refix the Cuban sugar quota, it used the deceptive argument that the measure was not intended as a retribution against the Castro Government but to assure the continuous flow of sugar into the American market. When, on June 22, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter was asked by newsmen whether the Administration intended to make immediate use of the requested authorization, he unhesitatingly answered "No!" When, on July 6th, the President signed the bill, Cuban sugar imports were already suspended.

The State Department's June 29th communication to the Inter-American Peace Committee that its policy of "patience and forbearance" ended in failure amounted to an admission that from now on the subversion of the Castro Government would be conducted with no holds barred.

How determined the Administration's schemes for subverting the Cuban Government are is indicated by the overt economic sabotage indulged in by the Esso, Texaco and Shell companies. They had no illusions as to the consequences of their refusal to process crude oil imported from the Soviet Union. If nevertheless the foreign oil companies departed on a course of open hostility towards the host country, they must have been encouraged by an intimate knowledge of secret plans, whether on the planning boards of the State Department, the CIA or other agencies that proved their effectiveness in Guatemala only a few years ago.

It was no coincidence that the Administration cast its gauntlet towards Cuba and simultaneously announced its "Marshall Plan" for Latin America. The ambiguity of that plan and even more so the timing of its announcement cast a shadow over its sincerity. Even if it constituted a workable blueprint (which it does not!), the Eisenhower Administration would not have the time left to put it into effect. The plan must, therefore, be viewed as the "big stick" to silence Latin-American support for Dr. Castro.

Castro's revolution addresses itself to the most basic problems not only of his own country (we warmly recommend to our readers the just published volume *Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution*, by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y., \$3.50); it has inspired all Latin America, because it provides a prototype for the eradication of the continent's miseries.

As for Cuba, its tragedy may well be that she has been exploited by American instead of British or French enterprises. In the latter case, Castro could count on the protective American umbrella that was so effectively held over Nasser's head. Then, however, he might have had to share the fate of a Dr. Mossadegh. American protection would be extended only for as long as it would take him to kick out the British or other foreign interests. In the second act, however, a Howard Page (vice-president of New Jersey Standard Oil) and a Herbert Hoover, Jr. would appear as "mediators" to inherit the eliminated foreign interests for American concerns, as they so ingeniously did in Iran in 1954.

That Cuba's complaint to the Security Council did not get a fair hearing, and that the coerced Organization of American States will muster no more fairness has been a foregone conclusion throughout. Yet, our State Department's reliance on its ability to prevent these international forums from exercising their own uncorrupted judgment constitutes a crumbling diplomatic method. It is this method against which people are rising everywhere—from the islands of Japan to the streets of Rome, from the university campuses of Korea to the plantations of Latin America. The true question is not whether the crumbling method will still succeed in one instance or another, but whether our national leaders will be wise enough to prepare an alternative for it. If they don't—it will not be just a diplomatic expedient that will outlive its usefulness but American influence itself.

Torture for Fun and Profit

By Robert Anton Wilson

Americans are inclined to think of the public torturing of animals as a characteristic of other nations and other epochs of history. English bear-baiting, Spanish bull-fights, and other such gruesome spectacles, we are taught to believe, could never happen here.

Nevertheless, a sporting event involving the torture of horses in public has been popular in this country for many years, and is still being practiced as you read these lines. I refer to the exhibitions of Tennessee Walking Horses sponsored by the American Horse Shows Association.

The Tennessee Walking Horse is a high-stepping breed whose graceful, almost lady-like gait wins the admiration of horse-lovers everywhere. To encourage a good, clean spirit of competition and to "improve the breed," The American Horse Shows Association sponsors exhibitions of these elfin equines, and awards ribbons and prizes to the owners who show the highest-stepping, fanciest-prancing horses. Since most of the owners are millionaires, the prizes are sought more for prestige than for any other motive.

Of course, "improving the breed" by an intelligent, long-range genetic strategy takes a long time, and can be quite expensive, and wins no immediate prizes—and it's a stodgy, rather "eggheadish" way to go about winning a sporting event. The millionaire Walking Horse owners have discovered quicker, less bookish methods of getting those hooves high up in the air.

A horse's hoof, contrary to popular superstition, is not all bone and armor; there are many sensitive parts. If tacks are driven in the front hooves at certain places, the results are quite surprising to everybody, including the horse. The unfortunate animal will try his bloody damndest to walk without touching ground with the front hooves at all, thus giving him an "ideal" prize-winning gait. Maybe this is cheating a little, but who's to know—except the horse?

This sounds like a fantasy of De Sade. It sounds like communist propaganda against the "decadent" rich. It sounds almost unbelievable. I myself did not want to believe it when I first heard about it. Nevertheless, it is true¹—and there is worse to come.

¹"At Last They May Act to Stop Torture of the Walking Horse," by George Coleman, *New York World Telegram and Sun*, January 7, 1960.

²"Victories Won Over Horse Show Cruelties in Court and Show Ring," *News of the Humane Society of the United States*, June 1960.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Coleman, *op. cit.*

⁵"Virginia Court Acts—Conviction for Cruelty With Walking Horse," by George Coleman, *New York World Telegram and Sun*, May 10, 1960.

⁶Coleman, *op. cit.*, January 7, 1960.

⁷"Torture of Walking Horse Gets a Nice White Wash," by George Coleman, *New York World Telegram and Sun*, January 11, 1960.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹"School for Horse Show Judges: A Report," by John Miles Zucker, *News of the Humane Society of the United States*, June 1960.

For the tack method of increasing the horse's stride is very old, and was only the beginning of the long, sad story of the misplaced ingenuity that has been expended in this field. One genius discovered that a good, high stance can be created by blistering the horse's hooves with mercury ointment. The festering blisters look as if they might have been created accidentally, and they really cause the horse to mince and prance around in a way quite delightful to onlookers. The horse, of course, is less delighted.

The great mind that first conceived this clever little trick was soon followed by a host of imitators. Caustic chemicals of all sorts were tried and the results were quite satisfactory to everybody, except, of course, the horses.²

Minds less talented at chemistry and such arcane sciences have resorted to simple insertions of hot nails.³ Horses have had ribbons pinned on them while blood dripped from their hooves before the judges' eyes.⁴ (The horse-show world, like most hobbyists' worlds, is a small one, and the judges at one show will be the exhibitors at the next show, and vice versa.)

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and the Humane Society of the United States, have both been fighting these atrocities for quite a while now, but the "big money" is all on the side of the owners. The Humane Society managed to win a conviction in a case in Lynchburg, Virginia, in May of this year, but the fine paid by the owner was a paltry \$25 and he was a wealthy man.⁵

More common is the incident at a horse show in Texas, earlier this year. One of the horses was in such acute agony that he had to be led from his stall by three grooms behind, swinging riding sticks, and two more grooms in front, pulling on the bridle. ASPCA agents tried to inspect the horse, but were told to get a search warrant. By the time that could be done, the evidence was well concealed.⁶

When George Coleman, a courageous reporter, began exposing these things in the *New York World Telegram and Sun*, his job was temporarily placed in jeopardy, according to a lawyer of my acquaintance who is active with the Humane Society.

The American Horse Shows Association considered a proposal for a new boot which, it was claimed, would prevent the abuses we have described.⁷ According to my lawyer friend, the only thing the boot would really do would be to help conceal the evidence of the abuse.

At the same meeting, it was proposed that "in a grand championship" Walking Horses should have saddles and boots removed before they are inspected by the judges. As George Coleman pointed out⁸ the little word "grand" is the joke in

this deal. Most of the big horse shows have "championships" but not "grand championships." The proposal sounds good to the uninitiated, and allows the old practices to continue.

Just how prevalent are these horrors? Well, according to a Humane Society official, horse show judges have expressed doubt as to whether the "big lick" walk—which the public has, by now, come to expect—can be achieved at all "without resort to the various methods of soring the horse—the abnormally heavy shoes, the distorted feet that lead to bowed tendons, the chains, the blistering and the other things which make the horse a miserable cripple, and gain blue ribbons for the most accomplished sadist."⁹

The reader may wonder just how important this issue is in a world shuddering under the threat of nuclear holocaust. It may seem almost quaint to even bother one's mind about a few horses when radioactive strontium poison is falling minute by minute into the milk of millions of human babies.

The author of this article is a husband and father, and regards himself self-consciously as a Humanist. He values Man above all else that exists—and this valuation is not religious, believing Man to be half angel, nor is it socialistic or scientific, regarding Man as a producer of commodities and gadgets. I value Man as the creator of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* and Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Van Gogh's *Starry Sky*. No animal has ever produced such beautiful and noble works, and no animal ever will. I look at my son beginning to walk, and I know that he has it in him, potentially, to produce such deathless beauty, and that a Tennessee Walking Horse does not.

I despise anti-vivisectionists and cranky old ladies who have platonic love affairs with parakeets. I am half amused and half angry when I read some old maid's denunciation of mankind half-articulate in her plea for kindness to robins.

Nevertheless, I beg every reader who has followed this article thus far to write to the American Horse Shows Association and protest the mistreatment of the Tennessee Walking Horse. I don't care how busy you are, circulating your anti-nuclear-test petition for SANE, or organizing a sit-in at Woolworths, or whatever. It is time for us to begin to recognize that the real issue of our age is respect for life.

The real horror of the age in which we live is just that we have all lost our respect for flesh, for living tissue, for life. Abstract principles of all sorts have millions of adherents—"Democracy," "World Socialism," "German Supremacy," dozens of others, some fairly sane, some hopelessly insane. But none of these abstract "goals"

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Confessions of A Beatnik

By Jeanne S. Bagby

I'm an ex-Beatnik. But even if I'm not playing the game any more, I'll still pledge my allegiance to those lusty kids rather than to anyone else's notions of propriety. When the publicity began a few years ago, I was already climbing back into the social strata once more, so I haven't been photographed or "anthologized." Then too, my poetry and paintings, while frequently published and bought, were never excellent enough to raise them above a large mass of fairly original stuff which has been pouring out of the younger generation. But I had a piece in *LIBERATION* once, all about how the Beats were really seeking a new vision, a new purity, and above all, values to function by. Several others—both Beat and non-Beat writers—have also emphasized this point: that the Beats represent not just an amorphous reaction against our garbage-can culture, but a definite leap in the dark, a forward probe into new realms of the human spirit, an effort to transcend the times and reunite this schizophrenic world.

For it would seem that the Beats were among the first (in any numbers) to realize what some of the advanced minds in various fields had shown up as the fatal flaw of the 20th century: the fact that, as he is, man just can't make it on his own. Ever since God went out of fashion and people started worshipping lesser idols, things began to fall in. (Many of us expect New York to collapse any moment, just like Babylon.) Every intelligent youngster made the Great Discovery soon after high school—even earlier these days—that the world is just a big phoney. Politics is phoney, education is phoney, religion is phoney, business is phoney and even art is phoney—but at least there is a small chance of real communication in the arts if you stick to your own vision, cling to your fellow artists and avoid mass culture like the plague. And how the kids did work! Old and young, veterans and juveniles, they gobbled volumes seldom appearing on college reading lists, stayed up nights creating vast poems and can-

vasses, poured out their hearts discussing impersonal, aesthetic questions with as much devotion as medieval scholastics. Of course, it was hard to earn a living with all this going on, and the response of parents and public was discouraging. But even the ridiculous publicity has been unable to shatter the real spirit of the movement, and this fact alone stands as proof to its reality and relevance. For individually or together, the disillusioned kids of America are still looking for The Thing, which is not so naive as the old Big Daddy, but more like the Chinese Tao, the Way of Life. In short, a new precipitation of reality, perhaps even in the form of a new religion.

Obviously, what we are getting via mass culture on every level in America today is pretty far from reality. It impinges into everything, it seeps into every corner like a putrid gas, it rusts and stains and melts everything. It is the American Dream, mid-century style. As far as the Beats are concerned, it's pure hogwash. It's not even worth giving back to the poor Indians. And conservative Representatives to the contrary, it's not because we dislike America, but because we love her so much that we cannot stand by and see all her ideals raped by the expedencies of the cold war, the machine.

Recently, I was on a radio program where we were supposed to be discussing "After the Beats, What?" Naturally, the discussion slithered around and wound up becoming a literary free-for-all; but Dave McReynolds, a young leftist writer of great perspicacity, came up with a really piercing point. He said that nowadays the kids who five years ago would have become Beatniks are now turning into actionists, not so much political, but independents striking out for civil rights, for all the positive values America is supposed to live by but doesn't. These are the kids who are sitting-in down South, who are picketing up North, who are protesting the Un-American Committee out West, who are vigiling against missile submarines back East. They are sick and tired of this phoney old world, and like the students in Tokyo and Turkey, they intend to do something about it. Some may become artists and Bohemians and hipsters and Beatniks, but many others are grasping for ways to turn their minds and talents to account by renovating the sick society in which they must live. There are fewer escapists among them these days; it's too obvious that there's no hiding place, nowhere.

It is more comforting for the elders to take the Beats as a purely literary phenomenon. They can say—and truthfully—that these surges of non-conformism and iconoclasm are pretty regular in the art world. In the past hundred years there have been Romantics, Naturalists, Symbolists, Surrealists, Dadaists and the Lost

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THE BRIGHTER SIDE

Three Cheers

► FOR PROF. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., prominent Harvard historian, for advocating a Federal tax on commercial advertising.

► FOR SOLICITOR GENERAL J. LEE RANKIN for calling on the United States to repeal the Connally reservation and submit to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

► FOR THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS for urging the Administration to set up a U. S. Government planning organization to seriously plan disarmament.

► FOR PROF. HERMAN A. GRAY, New York labor-management arbitrator, for ordering Hickory Clothes, Inc. to refrain from transferring its factory to areas of cheap, unorganized labor.

► FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM for:

- its affirmative resolutions on civil rights;
- its denunciation of student disclaimer oaths.

► FOR ALEXANDER J. GREENE, mayor of Rockville, Md., for taking a stand against his city's practice of segregation in restaurants and at store lunch counters.

► FOR THE U. S. SUPREME COURT for ruling that evidence obtained by state police and handed over to Federal agents cannot be used in Federal trials, if such evidence was obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures by Federal officials.

► FOR THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA for ruling that a teacher may not be discharged from employment for invoking constitutional prerogatives as protected by the First and Fifth Amendments.

► FOR THE U. S. COURT OF CLAIMS for ordering the U. S. Government to pay \$414,000 to the Miami Tribe Indians, of which they had been chiseled out in 1854 when much of their land was purchased by the U. S.

► FOR THE U. S. CONGRESS for adopting a bill requiring its committees and members to account in detail for all domestic and overseas travel expenses, such accounts to be published in the Congressional Record in the form of committee reports.

► FOR HARLOW CHAMBERLIN of Miami, Fla., for challenging in court a Florida statute requiring religious instruction in public schools in the form of Bible readings.

Learning From The Opposition

The art of governing discloses a peculiar paradox: while government must concern itself with eliminating the causes of grievances, discontent and bitterness, it cannot be effective unless grievances, discontent and bitterness are allowed to become an outspoken part of public life. The very factors that government exists to alleviate are necessary to make good and effective government possible. This is so because on all levels of individual and social life "the satisfied does not believe the hungry" and the former has difficulty identifying himself with the latter. Indeed, unless he has a specific external reason prompting him to put himself in the position of the underprivileged, he is not even inclined to do so. The happiest man surrounded by half-starved, miserable people would hardly perceive the anomaly of the situation unless he was made to do so. Marie Antoinette's notorious "let them eat cake!" revealed an introspection and self-projection we are all quite capable of. The difference between Marie Antoinette and ourselves does not lie in the mechanics of minds, but in the amount of knowledge upon which our respective conclusions are based. We too might suggest cake for the hungry if we didn't know the reasons for their hunger. What Marie Antoinette needed, and was deprived of, was someone to tell her the people could not afford bread. For she could not have learned this from her own experience. That was the mission of someone dissatisfied, discontent, bitter—an oppositionist.

Bias is an innate characteristic of man's intellect and emotions. Our thoughts are not individually derived from each situation that arrests them. Inadvertently, they tend to form a pattern of co-relation: individual thoughts become details in an overall intellectual system. To maintain this system we make adjustments and compromises which we would not consider making were it not for our inter-thought "order". We may tend to underplay the importance of a certain factor if recognizing it threatens the consistency of our "system". We may exaggerate a factor out of all proportions if this will sustain our "system". This is how we become biased and preconditioned in favor of or against certain things. Our thoughts about them do not totally depend on the things; the image we retain depends as much on our eyes as on their objective qualities and characteristics.

Because this subtle process of perversion mostly occurs on the subconscious level, our good intentions are no safeguard against it. This is why the correctness of our thoughts so greatly depends on objective confrontation. The images in our minds must be confronted with objective facts so bold as to make any discrepancy obvious.

One who governs tends naturally to believe himself quite effective. He is inclined to judge the situation of others through self-projection and introspection. If nothing external interferes with this delusion, he will pursue it with perfect consistency; the greater the discrepancy between image and fact the less he will be aware of it. That is why his effectiveness depends on the external shocks of objective facts. He must not be allowed to drift into a dream world of his own shaping; he must be continuously awakened to the reality that exists outside himself. Basically, this is the task of an opposition.

Opposition, too, tends to develop its own trait of consistency. That its direction will be reversed, will not necessarily make it more realistic. It may fall into a consistent negativism that refuses to acknowledge anything that does not justify its critical view. While the position tends naturally to exaggerate the positive, the opposition tends naturally to exaggerate the negative. Yet, the consequences of the two antithetical exaggerations are by no means equal in importance.

The positive exaggeration of the position may be quite dangerous indeed. Its adherers hold the reins of power; their misconceptions are reflected in actual policies. If these misconceptions are potentially disastrous, the inescapable consequence will be disaster. Mistakes will not remain purely theoretical, and the fall from power will surely come after the theoretical mistakes become mistakes in fact.

The negative exaggeration of the opposition is much less perilous. Its adherers do not hold the reins of power; their mistakes are not reflected in actual policies; their program is in a state of suspension. Even if the misconception is potentially disastrous, it remains disastrous only in theory. Its mis-

takes remain purely theoretical, and its advent to power will abrogate the former negativistic consistency, leading to a re-examination of views cherished on the shelves of pure theory. Flamboyance, the quality of the theoretician, gives way to the cautious moderation of the executive.

Since the opposition's view is theoretical, it is never truly dangerous no matter how wrong. But it serves as the indispensable iconoclast without which the governing faction would be totally deprived of the confrontation between their views and the facts they themselves are psychologically incapable of discovering. De Tocqueville's contention that "*The majority lives in the perpetual utterance of self-applause, and there are certain truths which the Americans can learn only from strangers or from experience*"* could be paraphrased into: "There are certain truths which a government can learn only from the opposition or from experience." When a government learns from experience the lesson is predicated on practical error. The only way a government can learn without allowing itself the luxury of practical errors is to learn from the opposition which, like a seismograph, registers areas needing attention, whether the trouble is actual or potential.

As paradoxical as this may sound, the true challenge of a political party in power is not how to retain its consistent socio-political identity but how to gracefully shed off yesterday's skin. The decline of the Liberal Party in Britain can be explained by nothing but its consistency in maintaining traditional views and philosophy. A similar process is presently taking place with regard to the British Labor Party. It was the political wisdom of the conservative leaders in Britain that made them "steal" so much from the Labor Party. Had they persisted in executing policies consistent with conservative views of twenty or thirty years ago, there can be no question that presently they would not be holding the reins of the British Government. Only because they opened their minds to be taught by the Labor opposition, have they made themselves acceptable to the electorate. Had they declared a life and death struggle against all nationalization, rather than adopting some of it from the Laborites; had they recalled the public health service and inflexibly followed the traditional conservative path in other areas, they would hardly be a contender and actual holder of power at this time and eventually, like the Liberals before them, they would have declined as a political party.

What is true about the Conservatives and Laborites in England is equally true about the conservative and communist movements in the world. Communism's failure to produce the society it undertook to create does not justify the social, economic and political conditions to which it reacted. Whether or not the communist recipe was right, the social illness it reacted to was not a figment of Marx's imagination. When a physician's prescription kills the patient, it does not prove that the dead man was healthy. One, however, who in time discovers the doctor's mistake but claims the patient to be healthy and in no need of treatment, may cause the very death he set out to prevent by discarding the wrong medicine.

The Communists want to change capitalistic society. They are in opposition to our system. They have, therefore, developed a natural though possibly exaggerated sensitivity to the ills and wrongs of our society. The true challenge is to learn our weak points from them and give them our attention.

In many areas this means copying or "stealing" from the

*Democracy in America, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, Vol. I, p. 265.

THE WAY WE SEE IT

U-2, RB-47 AND WHAT NEXT?

Whether the American RB-47 bomber shot down on July 1st was a few miles inside or a few miles outside Soviet territory is of little relevance; had no provocative schemes been planned in the Pentagon, American bombers would not be flying within a mile or so of either side of Soviet boundaries.

As to the mission of the bomber, there are enough obvious indications to discredit the Administration's U-2-like version even without waiting for the potentially revealing evidence that might be produced during the trial of the two survivors. Firstly, one must ask, since when are American Air Force bases maintained in Great Britain to provide nothing but take-off ground for electro-magnetic mapping flights? Secondly, if we were exploring the electro-magnetic characteristics of Antarctica, why didn't the plane take off from nearby American soil—Alaska?

Yet, the RB-47 flight was hardly a surprise. Allan Dulles' post-U-2 visit to London, the American Administration's never renounced claim to the "right" of surveying Soviet territory, the overt pressure by the military for the resumption of pro-

vocative flights, the Air Force Chief's of Staff admission that American bombers have been flying near Soviet radar screens to show the U. S. "deterrent" is always on the alert, Defense Secretary Thomas Gates', Jr. announcement that the new B-70 supersonic bomber, called a perfect plane for spy flights, is being put into production, and, finally, Prime Minister Macmillan's July 5th admission in the House of Commons that Britain would permit U. S. aircraft to use British bases for reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union depending "on the circumstances"—they all were more than indicative of things in the making.

More than anything else the persistence of American military provocations against the Soviet Union discloses to what degree our State Department trusts Soviet peaceful intentions. Had our policy makers entertained any doubts as to those intentions, they would not be providing a continuous chain of incidents, each of them a potential war pretext.

That evil is self-destructive may well be evidenced by the popular reaction to the RB-47 incident. Each bravado of our militarists costs us millions of friends throughout the world. That our kept press

succeeds in hiding this reaction from the American public, does not undo that reaction one iota. Each "success" of our "brinkmanship" plotters is in a very true sense a defeat for the United States.

HOW DIFFERENT A DIFFERENCE?

John F. Kennedy's presidential nomination invokes in us mixed feelings. His calls for a new-frontier national self-assertion are a refreshing deviation from the traditional electioneering pattern of "a chicken in every pot, a car in every garage" or "I will just go here and there and bring peace and heaven on earth"; yet the welcome change is unfortunately "balanced" by implications of even greater militarization and emphasis on a "position of strength". Although it is encouraging to see youthful leadership emerging on the national scene, one must wonder what it does to a man to know that his father's fortune proved powerful enough not only to obtain a senatorial seat but possibly also the Presidency. Because one thing is certain: were it not for his father's money, John F. Kennedy's chances of becoming Senator or President would be no greater than those of millions of intelligent but obscure young men.

Communists as the British Conservatives have been "stealing" from the Laborites. Not that we should accept their doctrines. We should merely adopt those parts of their analysis and reforms that truly respond to society's needs. In many respects we have to learn to imitate the Communists for no other reason than that their opposition makes them a seismograph for registering social phenomena that need changing.

Ever since the Bolshevik revolution the Communists have ceased to be, ideologically, total oppositionists. While opposed to prevailing systems outside their own sphere of influence, in Soviet Russia and other communist countries they hold the reins of power. Therefore, they are themselves prone to fall into the state of doctrinaire and conservative stagnation that is the common denominator of all executives. Paradoxically, we in turn have become their ideological and political opposition. We have developed a keen sense for registering their mistakes, shortcomings and wrongdoings. Their inclination to live in delusions of their own effectiveness and achievements does not escape our critical perception.

Thus, if we will combine our wisdom of adopting from the communist opposition those essential reforms that are objective social needs with our own oppositionist sensitivity that captures all their fallacies, we may truly be able to synthesize a system of social reform that will combine the virtues of both regimes.

Our present antipathy to the attitude advocated here gives us no immunity to communism. On the contrary, our determination to preserve our system of government and economics as it is will merely leave the peoples of the world a choice between two bad alternatives: our system which will be found to be too irresponsible to existing social needs to be accepted; the communist system which will be found to be sufficiently responsive, however faulty, to be preferred. Perhaps only then will a new opposition rise within the communist orbit that will get around to dealing with the system's inadequacies. At this stage of development, however, if communism should become the only alternative offering public service instead of a narrow-minded defense of the sanctity of individual property, its shortcomings and coerciveness might even be accepted by desperate peoples as a tolerable price for other achievements.

The lessons we need to learn from communism cannot pos-

sibly be learned as long as we are prevailed upon to protest total dissimilarity from it. That portion of American religiosity that has been acquired as nothing but a manifestation of dissimilarity from communism serves neither religion nor our mental development. If a public health program cannot be instituted because it is stigmatized as "socialized" medicine, we may be blinded to a desperate public need that modern society cannot be expected to leave unattended forever. If we oppose federal aid for education because it would be too "reminiscent" of communism, we may well be abstaining from one of the most worthwhile reforms that people will eventually accept from any political movement that promises it. If labor legislation is curtailed and instead anti-labor legislation promoted, we may well stigmatize ourselves before other nations whose social sophistication makes them seek a more progressive arrangement.

Our big challenge is not how to totally and completely refute everything that has been identified with communism but how to provide still better, juster and more complete solutions to the problems on which communist popularity has been feeding. In certain areas we must even be wise enough to be more communistic than the Communists themselves. They preach social justice but fail to achieve it? Then let us provide the true prototype of social justice. They preach equality but instead create a party and state bureaucracy? Then let us create true democracy, both politically and economically. They preach brotherhood and instead introduce a police state? Then let us reform society into a truly free one, politically as well as intellectually. They provide free education on all levels but much of that education is no more than political indoctrination? Then let us build a system of free education that will beget a new golden era of thought and arts. They coerce their neighbor nations into political and military cooperation? Then let us demonstrate that our international cooperation truly serves mankind and not our dubious selfish interests.

Unless we learn in such ways to adopt what is worthwhile in the opposition, we will find ourselves increasingly out of step with the needs of evolving mankind. Soon, if not already, we will be on the way to becoming an anachronistic fossil, joining those political parties who, once powerful and ruling, signed their own death warrants by refusing to learn from their political opponents.

The Reversal to Candor *(Continued from Page 1)*

into moral principles. Austria-Hungary was partitioned not as an act of retribution but in the name of national independence and self-determination, even though some of the founders of the new states, like Masaryk, have had as hard a time convincing their own people that they needed independence as they had convincing the negotiators at Versailles.

This school of diplomacy has been officially adhered to, with equal fervor, on both sides of the present cold war. In fact, it has been pursued so vigorously that it would not be surprising to find one diplomat or another so completely absorbed in the process of propagandizing that he himself is taking it seriously. Of course, such a man would be looked upon by his more sophisticated colleagues as an amateur.

The American "reversal to honesty," following the U-2 fiasco, signals a new era in diplomacy. The change will of necessity become ever more discernible, until a day will come—and it is not very remote—when diplomacy will no longer purport to serve principles and ideas but admittedly defend prosaic interests.

The American government's embarrassing admission was not a voluntary act. It was necessitated by technological developments that rendered traditional methods of spying obsolete and unreliable while making a parallel propagandistic adaptation impossible. The new spy methods produced a situation that could no longer be "explained" away. When airplanes must be used for espionage and anti-airplane weapons maintained, no theory can camouflage the physical encounter between the two. At last, material development has exceeded man's ability to theorize.

After U-2, it will become increasingly difficult to maintain the idealistic rationalization in diplomacy. Nor are these difficulties confined to spy plane cases. As the people's stake in international affairs becomes more total, as more and more subjugated nations are gaining national independence, people all over will question the deeds and intentions of governments more carefully. Here and there a government may still successfully apoliticize its citizenry, diverting its attention from political matters by focusing on trivia. Mass means of communication lend them great facilities for achieving this. On the whole, however, the vacuum of public ignorance that protects government is growing ever smaller.

A growing sophistication among the masses all over the world has incited many events that have been conveniently misconstrued as anti-Americanism. The trend cannot, however, be stopped by this calculated method of embarrassment. The efforts, involving millions of dollars, of the American government and semi-official agencies to make people the world over suspicious of Soviet intentions and skeptical of Soviet pronouncements

are backfiring with amazing precision. The resulting skepticism has come around full circle to plague the manipulators. People who have been taught to suspect Soviet pronouncements have suddenly learned to suspect Washington's pronouncements as well.

There are already multitudes of people among all nations and all classes who realize the discrepancy between our peace professions and our attitude on disarmament and a nuclear ban. This skepticism has even penetrated circles that cannot possibly be accused of communist sympathies. Soon the discrepancy between our "idealistic" diplomacy and actual performance will be so obvious that the former will appear as nothing but shameless cynicism or a bad joke. How long can we believe ourselves capable of convincing the world of our peaceful intentions by refusing to disarm? How long can we expect to preserve the legend that building bases around the territory of our adversary demonstrates amiability?

It would be all too naive and optimistic to expect underlying intentions to change as our diplomats discover the increasing difficulties in maintaining an idealistic front. When our lamblike disguise no longer fools anyone, we will not turn into true lambs. We will simply let the legend evaporate, stripping our diplomacy of its euphemisms and admitting more freely our actual reasons and intentions. No longer will we say: "We oppose the Soviets because they are wrong and unjust" but rather: "We oppose the Communists because they are our competitors". No longer will we claim that our foreign bases "defend democracy" (especially that of Generalissimo Franco), but instead that they ensure victory in war, no matter who starts it. There will be a cynical reversal to honesty of presentation that is not identical with honesty of goal or motivation.

Anyone who has been impressed by the idealistic euphemisms of our diplomacy might exaggerate the consequences of such a reversal, fearing that the disappointed masses would suddenly refuse to heed their government, that they might overthrow a government that would openly admit serving selfish interests rather than moral principles. Such fears are utterly exaggerated. To the uncommitted peoples of the world the reversal will be less a revelation than a confirmation of their longstanding suspicions. On the domestic front, the disappointment will be limited to a rather indecisive number of citizens. For in truth, the idealistic myth was manufactured more to impress foreign populations than to deceive our own. Basically, our own citizenry has been quite aware of the pretense.

American public opinion does not judge the successes and failures of our diplomacy by moral standards. All it wishes to assure itself of is that American inter-

ests—moral or not, legitimate or otherwise—are served. The average citizen may refuse to admit his knowledge and resent a critic's avowal, but in his true judgment he is not ready to applaud his President for being good and "nice" but rather for being "tough" and winning. Then, of course, he will insist that what was won is right and just.

This compliant attitude has many parallels in matters unrelated to international affairs. It closely resembles the standards by which we so often judge the sermons of our preachers. There he stands at the pulpit on a Sabbath morning and thunders away against corruption, materialism, expediency and dishonesty. He is not general, like a prayer book, but very specific; he cites actual instances of behavior that he deprecates. And in the front row of his audience sit the congregation's officers who are guilty of precisely such behavior. Will they attack the preacher? Will they demand that he stop insulting them? Will they fire him from his position? Will they perhaps, as is commonly done to an adversary, keep telephoning his home at all times of day and night and then hang up as soon as he answers? Will they perhaps ruin his reputation and ostracize him in a variety of ways in which they are so well experienced? Will they stigmatize him as they do any non-conformist and challenger?—Not in the least. Alas, as soon as he concludes the insulting sermon they will approach him, shake his hand and congratulate him on his "wonderful sermon". Nor will the preacher call them hypocrites for doing so. Because between the preacher and his audience there is a tacit agreement that all he was doing while delivering the sermon was performing a professional service. His words must not be judged literally or applied personally but taken strictly as a piece of speech making. As speech making it was good and deserves praise . . .

This is equally true about the attitude of "patriotic" people towards our national leaders. Their euphemisms are neither taken literally nor truly believed in. When they are discarded as diplomatic and propagandistic instruments, there will be an appreciation that the method outlived its usefulness but there will be no true disappointment. One cannot be disappointed in something he never truly believed in to begin with. And if something becomes admissible that until now was not admissible, the change will still reflect a consistency of all-convincing expediency.

Of course, we may not count on an equally "understanding" and forgiving attitude on the part of the politically naive (or sincere?) Asians and Africans and the same goes for many Europeans. But then we will rely on their desire for survival in a war, whether provoked by us or others, to dictate expedient courses rather than moral behavior. Any sign that such a perversion of values is taking place will be as triumphantly reported in the American press as the arrival of rock 'n' roll in Berlin or Hong Kong.

The first glimpse I had of Oklahoma, on the road to Claremore, Will Rogers' town, was the same dried-up, God forsaken country I had seen all along the way—in eastern Colorado, southern Missouri, western Arkansas, wherever the drought had struck—a bleached and barren landscape burnt to a crisp, emptied of anything that seemed alive.

Just before our bus crossed the border from Missouri into Oklahoma, my seatmate got off—a friendly young colored woman who shared my enthusiasm for Frank Lloyd Wright houses and who was on her way to join her husband, a mess sergeant at Camp Leonard Wood. The resentful stares of Ozark natives had focused on us both as we lunched together at the stops along the way.

It was the fourth year of steady drought for the area. Our bus had rolled through almost deserted farmlands with hardly ever a sign of human life—sometimes a lonely sunburnt shack clinging to the side of a rocky hill, or a stray head of cattle, so starved its ribs stood out, standing in a daze, too weary even to look for grass. Once in a while, the bus had stopped to take a farmer and his wife aboard, a silent pair straight out of Grant Woods "American Gothic"—unsexed by hard existence, as thin and sunburnt as one of their own cattle, their eyes squinted shut and their eyelashes bleached white by sun and toil.

Claremore was jammed with Will Rogers Cafes, Will Rogers Gas Stations, Will Rogers Hot-Dog Stands—their walls garish with hideous "hand-painted" pictures of Will in super-life-size. Wide-brimmed sombreros crowded the streets now, small, dark Mexican families clambered aboard the bus, and the handsomest men in sight were tall, windburnt Indians, staring silently over the heads of the crowd, their faces shadowed by felt hats the color of the dusty hills.

After Claremore the country grew drier and poorer than ever. No crops. No pasture land. No anything. Suddenly, over a sandy rise, there came into view the metal rig of an oil well . . . two, three, dozens of them; the tireless, steel, angular arms of pumps traveling smoothly up and down, up and down. And in no time at all, the gleam of the harsh sun outlined distant towers and tall new buildings—and soon there it was, the big, spacious city of Tulsa—"oil capital of the world." After the starved country we had ridden through, it was like a slap in the face.

Now suddenly the streets were smooth and wide and full of Cadillacs. When the bus stopped, the jeans-clad farmers climbed timidly down, stood in a moment's daze and then turned into one of the modest lunchrooms near the station entrance. Beyond shone lush, tree-lined avenues, with expensive shops and restaurants spilling music and laughter out into the rich afternoon. One felt there were no poor people anywhere in the world . . .

There was a third Oklahoma which I found a hundred miles further on, at El

SHADOW OVER

By Mary S. W.

A small item on an inside page of the author — a one-page item — to the existence of a "time of emergency". Shocked, the author searched and departed on an expedition to the United States.

A second installment of her work on the issue of *The Minority of One*.

(See editorial on page 10)

Reno. Beyond the drought belt, beyond the oil-fields, with wide green fertile fields of its own stretching to far horizons. Flat, wind-swept, sunlit and clean: a peaceful, obscure, friendly American town—with a strange and little-known sector in its midst that its own population was hardly aware of. The first of the six small towns I traveled across America to see.

I

If you were an average New Yorker in the early Fall of 1950, looking over the day's headlines to see what was happening in this strange new war in Korea—now three months old—you would have seen in your morning paper of September 20th a front-page story that the United States Congress, in high excitement, had passed a new bill, the McCarran Internal Security Act, containing a section providing for the detention of "potential spies and saboteurs" in the event of national emergency.

It was rumored that President Truman regarded the bill unfavorably, and two days later, on September 22nd, another news story reported that he had vetoed the bill, calling it "dangerous." It was admitted, however, that Congress was likely to override his veto. Sure enough, the next day, Congress overrode the Presidential veto, and the McCarran Internal Security Act became law. On December 16, 1950, the "National Emergency" required for the Act's enforcement was proclaimed by the President, on account of the Korean War. Today, seven years after the War, the Emergency has not yet been revoked.*

The rest of the story—unless you were one of the veteran readers who have learned that the most significant news of the day usually lurks in obscure spots on inside pages—you probably missed. There were brief stories after that, bearing upon the Act from many angles; but as a rule they averaged only 2 to 4 inches in length and never more than a column wide, and were tucked away at the foot of an inside page beside an ad. In the New York Times Index, however—that much-read directory of history-in-the-making—a new and important sec-

*On June 24, 1960, a bill was passed in the House, calling for a "partial" end to the Emergency insofar as procurement was concerned, to curb enormous wastes in Army buying by non-competitive bidding under Emergency powers. More than a partial end would seem needed: The same Emergency has also served as a convenient cover for price-pegging, with enormous profits, under Korean and postwar stock-piling of a list of more than a hundred "strategic materials," including raw and fabricated materials of many kinds, such curious items as hypnotic or "hallucinatory" drugs, and almost every rare and un-rare mineral known.

tion had come to birth. In 1950 the heading "Internal Security" appeared for the first time. As the weeks and months passed, it grew like a weed, faster and faster, until, from no entry at all in 1949, it has become today probably the largest and most thumbed section of the Index—a bulky section of minutely divided and subdivided references (chiefly the "M's": from McCarthy to Matusow) which will someday both amuse and disgust historians.

The first of these news stories came in January 1951, four months after the McCarran Act's passage, when a Texas commander of a Veteran Of Foreign Wars post called for use of the Act for immediate arrest of all Communists. Two months later, on March 2nd, at the Fourth Annual Conference on Civil Liberties, in Washington, the new law which Truman called "dangerous" found many champions, including the representative of a prominent midwestern Senator, who spoke in favor of its measures; and a former general counsel for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, who supported the bill's detention features, saying their use in wartime might avoid a general declaration of martial law—predicting that in case of war with Russia, 50,000 Americans would be taken into custody.

Curiously enough, hardly a voice was raised at the Conference in protest of the threat such a bill offered to the civil liberties they were celebrating.

The war of nerves on the home front had produced some curious and incongruous stands. At the same session of the Conference, a well-known liberal Congressman, usually a staunch champion of civil rights, defended a bill to confer wire-tapping powers on the Attorney-General, saying the Judy Coplon case had proved them necessary in the fight against espionage and subversion.

The government now moved into action. On March 23rd, in a little publicized move hardly noticed in the press, Congress was asked to approve \$775,000 for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, for use vaguely described as the "round-up"

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that might be ordered under the emergency powers of the McCarran Internal Security Act.

On April 28th, statements were issued by Assistant Attorney-General James McInerney and by J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, warning that the government was ready to arrest 14,000 dangerous Reds on a moment's notice if war with Russia came. 43,217 Communist Party members, said Hoover, were in the United States—more than half of them in New York State, and most of those in New York City. Since he figured 10 Communist sympathizers for every Party member, he counted a total of 430,000 people "sympathetic to the Communist Cause." The story closed with an announcement that as a result of Hoover's testimony, the House Appropriations Committee "was considering a proposal to prepare four abandoned military camps as places of detention for suspected subversives in case of war." It was noted that the Internal Security Act required political prisoners be kept separate from civil code criminal convicts.

With this prompting, pressure groups throughout the country now began to take the situation less subtly into their own hands. By July a meeting of the Pennsylvania department of Veterans Of Foreign Wars had adopted a resolution urging that a remote isle in the Pacific be set aside where subversives—defined as anyone "who liked the Communist way of life"—could be sent, for the safety of the country. The American Legion was somewhat more cautious. When the Resolution it had passed demanding immediate internment of all Communists "for the period of national emergency" was ruled unconstitutional by its own National Judge Advocate, Ralph B. Gregg of Indianapolis, the Legion's National Executive Council in November, 1951 recalled the Resolution and instead petitioned the U.S. Justice Department to "formulate lawful plans for quarantine of all persons whose activities indicate that they would participate in sabotage and armed treason against the United States in event of

war with Russia or any of its satellites."

On New Year's Eve Attorney-General McGrath reported to the nation that work had begun on reconditioning two World War II prisoner-of-war camps at El Reno, Oklahoma and Florence, Arizona, and a former military airport at Wickenburg, Arizona. Prison labor, he stated, would be used to get the camps in shape "for rounding up . . . of all persons likely to commit sabotage or espionage should there be an invasion, declaration of war, or an insurrection in aid of a foreign enemy." Who was to select the persons "likely" to commit such crimes, was not stated. Later it developed that power to pass on the grounds for such "probability" would be given to a 9-man "Subversive Control Board," to be appointed by the President at an annual salary of \$12,500 each.

Authorization by Congress of the purchase of five prison camps* was announced two weeks later, described as "surplus World War II installations at Tule Lake, California, Avon Park, Florida, Florence and Wickenburg, Arizona, and El Reno, Oklahoma." . . . "As many as 15,000 persons are believed ticketed for immediate seizure as potential spies or saboteurs (in the event of declaration of a national emergency by the President)," ran the story. The Times remarked with some irony that the Declaration had already been put on public record the year before.

This news brought reactions from widely separated sectors of opinion. From Senator Eastland of Mississippi came a prompt demand that every Communist in the country be put behind bars. He offered some figures of his own: of the 50,000 he estimated as Communist Party members, 20,000, said the Senator from Mississippi, were actual agents of the Kremlin.

From across the world in Russia came violent counter-charges—Soviet radio and press, smarting under repeated accusations of maintaining concentration camps of their own, now accused the United States of building Nazi-style extermination camps in Arizona and Oklahoma, complete with barbed-wire fences, at Florence and Wickenburg, Arizona, and at El Reno, Oklahoma.

Said a Russian commentator: "The U.S. imperialists . . . are building new Majdaneks and Oswiecims (Nazi concentration camps) in Arizona and Okla-

*The Government already operated four other prison camps for federal prisoners—at McNeil Island, Wash.; Tucson, Arizona (used now for youth offenders); Mill Point, W. Va.; and Montgomery, Alabama. Three other federal camps for general use have also been opened, at Greenville, So. Carolina; Safford, Arizona; and Elmendorf, Alaska.

homa, intended for extermination of all who do not agree with their aggressive policies."

In June of 1952 the name of a sixth camp—at Allenwood, Pennsylvania—was added to the list of those already announced, with a statement that the Justice Department was spending "\$750,000 a year on repair and maintenance of the 6 camps by a 'handful of trusty prisoners' kept on the premises 'to repair roofs, plumbing and other necessities.'"

The last mention of the camps to be found in the news—except for a story headed "U.S. Keeps Detention Camps Ready" which appeared in the N. Y. Times of December 27, 1955—occurred more than seven years ago, on May 20, 1953, with an announcement that "the Bureau of Prisons has closed on a stand-by basis" (my emphasis—MHW) "two of the six camps activated a year ago—at Tule Lake, California and at a former air base at Wickenburg, Arizona." The repair work there had evidently been completed. The four other camps—described as "small"—would, it was stated, be kept open, manned by short-term Federal prisoners allowed to do work outside regular prison walls. The two "closed" camps were designated as ready to serve their purpose should the emergency arise. In October, 1953, the camp at Avon Park, Florida, was completed and closed. Later appropriations for the camps' upkeep have not been itemized by name in the Budget, as is customary, but hidden away in a large bulk sum for prison repairs and improvement, marked simply "Other."

No mention of the six other camps for subversives has appeared since in the big city papers—or in the small towns either, to my knowledge—except for the lone Times story noted above. Even the heading "Internment" was dropped from the Times Index. But the major heading of "Internal Security" has remained, growing ever bulkier with the years.

II

It takes about an hour to go by bus from Oklahoma City west to El Reno. All the way to Oklahoma City I had been bothered by memories of an evening spent in Tulsa the night before, with a group of prosperous young physicists—geo-physicists now with the Tulsa office of one of the world's largest oil companies, but many of them with wartime experience in atomic laboratories or plants. As the bus rolled along the sun-baked road flanked with wiry Johnson grass ("Cut it down at night, and in the morning it's six inches high!"), past what a sign said was the "highest man-made structure in the world"—a tall thin television tower resting on a pin base, braced by a web of guy-wires extending for acres—I kept thinking of the group in the comfortable living-room where I had sat the night before: the attractive young married couples, the two engaging little girls in pink pajamas who had run in to say goodnight.

Most of the young physicists had been

so sure that a third World War was inevitable. Their rationalizations had been so glib, their conclusions put forward in so matter-of-fact a way. They had set down neat rows of pencilled figures for me: of world populations growing so fast and food supplies lagging too far behind—all quite true, of course. What other way was there, one asked, to solve such a hopeless imbalance? Didn't two and two make four? Wasn't the Bomb really a providential answer to this problem—the means to bring these rows of figures back into balance?

I told myself most physicists' minds, most Americans', did not work like that . . . It was a lovely house, furnished in cool, intriguing colors, with every kind of modern convenience—air conditioning, electric dishwasher, vacuum cleaner, gleaming toaster, television, electric trains in the playroom . . . but I had suddenly wanted to run out of the house into clean night air . . . Now at the little bus stops, I watched the hard sun beat down on leathery, red-tanned, farmers' faces, on the piles of little canvas bags of soil-testings, stained a dusty red, that fronted every station, and was glad it was daytime and I was back on the road, away from such talk . . .

Finally El Reno, lying green and peaceful, with clean white streets under a midday sun—a substantial Southern farming town stretching across the broad plain that lies between the Rock Island tracks and the main highway. The bus driver pointed out a sun-baked brick hotel, and I decamped with my bags, not far from the main street. It was not a new hotel, but the woman behind the varnished desk was bright and friendly, and the rooms were clean. The dry, clear heat was a living entity. It had shrunk the wood of the door to my room so that you could see a half-inch of light all around it when it was closed. Only the latch held it shut.

A walk around town gave me a chance to learn about the place. The country around El Reno, I found, is good farming country. Whereas in eastern Oklahoma, where even without a drought the soil is poor, peanuts are about the only crop worth raising, wheat and many other grains do well around El Reno. A big General Mills flour plant stands east of town. Beefsteak and prime roast beef are advertised everywhere. I remembered the bone-dry stream beds we had crossed, when in the little hotel cafe I heard a tourist order trout and saw the cook drop a piece of frozen New England cod in the pan, with the remark, "Sure ought to know ain't no trout around here now!"

As towns go, El Reno is pretty young. Since Oklahoma became a state only in 1907, there are few really old houses in town. The oldest structure around is at old Fort Reno, several miles south of town—General Philip Sheridan's headquarters during the Indian Wars in 1875: a neat little wooden shack bleached gray by eighty-five years of sun and wind—but even that looks pretty recent. It

took me some time to find out where the McCarran camp was located, and when I did find it, it was just across the fields to the north of the old fort.

Old Fort Reno, the Indian fort set up under General Phil Sheridan years before El Reno or the state of Oklahoma was ever thought of, has been abandoned now as an army post. Still busy and populous during World War II and after, it became the biggest cavalry "remount center" in the world; and until a few years ago, when they were rounded up and shipped abroad, more than 16,000 army mules and horses were pastured in the huge, fenced-in meadows that now lie empty around the fort, stretching as far as the eye can see.

Across the road, to the east, lie the fenced-in farmlands of a big Federal Reformatory. Across the meadows north of the Fort stands the island of sun-burnt barracks—today's rebuilt McCarran camp—still surrounded by barbed-wire barricades where German prisoners, captured from Rommel's Afrika Korps, were kept during World War II.

Today this camp stands empty of life but in obvious condition for practical use. The rows of small wooden shacks inside the fencing have been freshly roofed, and windows and doors securely closed. The narrow paths between the rows of shacks look newly swept—but perhaps that was the work of the wind. The only signs of life to be seen are a couple of hundred feet away from the barbed-wire enclosure, where a group of white frame houses stands in a green space of its own—once living quarters, obviously, for the wartime camp administrative staff. All of these houses today are occupied, with signs of family living all about—beach chairs out on the grass, dogs and children at play, and laundry flying in the breeze.

Driving back to town, between newly ploughed fields of rich, red-brown earth driven into strange shapes by the wind, I passed huge white grain elevators, rising steeply like castles from the green fields, and herds of grazing steers, with curious long curved horns, looking like a hearty edition of the sacred bullocks of India. Suddenly the road came into a populous Negro settlement, with a brand-new school in its midst; which made me wonder why I had seen so few dark-skinned citizens on El Reno's Main Street?

Later this was explained to me as merely an evidence of how separately the races live in the Southern states. So I was somewhat surprised to read later on that El Reno was one of the first communities in the South to vote integration into its public schools.

I strolled around El Reno that day and the next, talking to all kinds of citizens. They were about like the people of any other American town, some likeable and friendly, some not so friendly. I asked them what they thought the old prison-camp had been put back into shape for? They didn't

know, and didn't seem to want to do much guessing. All they knew was that Federal prisoners had been brought in to do the job: maybe just "to keep them busy."

Curiosity is not a quality much cultivated around such towns, I found.* Later, after visiting several of them, I began to feel it was not an accident that towns with a history of adjacence to wartime prison camps were chosen for the new McCarran camp-sites. Something more than the presence of abandoned acres of wooden shacks makes these locations suited to such use. A most important precondition seems to be that the populations are already mentally trained, so to speak—they have gotten over the first shock of seeing companies of strange people brought into their midst, without explanation, to be confined there indefinitely. They have learned to turn their heads at the right time, to ask no questions, even to make the best of the added prosperity, the minor business boom, which the presence of such involuntary visitors brings to their towns.

They would have no hard feelings toward prisoners brought there again. Today in El Reno the townspeople remember without bitterness the German soldiers who lived for a time in their midst during the Forties. They speak of them as "good workers," recall how they sang as they worked in the fields, and are sorry still that one German boy, who begged to stay and work on a local farm when the war was over, was forced instead to return to Germany. "They should have let him stay," they said.

Oddly enough, I found the people of El Reno, as I found the people of every one of the other five towns I visited later, with little bias in the way of national or political prejudice. But I also found they had learned to accept unusual or unexplained situations, such as that of the camps, without protest. I am sorry to report that this was true of every one of the six towns. Nobody I met objected to or even wondered about the presence of the camps. Maybe the ones who objected had all left town before I got there. Maybe the ones I met kept plenty inside.

The fact remains that they have allowed the camps to stay, just as the German citizens of Dachau and Buchenwald and Auschwitz allowed their camps to remain. They have raised no audible protest against their existence. But then—let us not forget—neither have most Americans.

(To be continued in the Sept. issue)

*This is of course not just a local phenomenon. Little public interest has been taken in the many serious experiments carried out on the inmates of some of our federal prisons. These include experiments in cardiac, polio, and other diseases, and a curious project carried out by staff members of the Medical College of Emory University in Georgia, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, in which a hallucinatory drug, "d-lysergic acid," was used to induce temporary schizophrenia in a group of federal prisoners at Atlanta Penitentiary.

Torture for Fun . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

will have any meaning in a world that is a radioactive ash without life on it. The one value which transcends all others and gives them whatever degree of worth they may have is just life itself, the viscose blood in the living tissue.

This is the value ignored by Hitler—and by Truman sending that bomber to Hiroshima and by Krushchev sending those tanks to Budapest. This is the value ignored by defenders of Fidel Castro, and by their opposite numbers who would like to restore Batista's crew to Cuba.

We have to teach ourselves to value life again. We have to look at each one of our pet theories and our wonderfully progressive (or conservative!) principles and say to ourselves, "Yes, this is what I believe in and what I work for—but always in second place, always after life itself."

If we take out every single one of our beloved "principles" and "ideals" and look at them that way, a strange thing will begin to happen to us. When we walk in the park and a squirrel runs across our path, we will remember that this nervous little bundle of energy is in danger, as much as we are, whenever Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev start threatening each other. The sheer insane monstrosity of the myths by which we live will become painfully evident each time we look into an infant's eye, or hear the bawdy screech of a crow overhead, or see a deer-track in the moss. Life, which we posit as a value to be defended, will become a glory to be cherished.

I spoke a while ago of Beethoven and Shakespeare and Van Gogh; it is in works like theirs that we can begin to understand what it means to cherish life. It is given to each creature only for a short time, and yet during that time the creature can, with a minimum of luck, find joy, the only miracle in the universe. We, who are as guilty of the hydrogen bomb as our rulers, must stand in awe of that possibility, the possibility of joy. We dare not quibble for a moment over the hierarchies of evolution; the miracle of joy—and the horror of pain—are possible to each living thing.

One sentence at least I retain from high school biology: a horse's leg is homologous to a man's. What you would feel with tacks or hot nails driven into your foot, or burning mercury applied to it, is what the Tennessee Walking Horses feel. There is nothing sentimental about this; it is merely a fact. The question that this article asks—and that 20th Century history asks—is: do we still love and cherish life? Do we understand what joy means? Or are we so hypnotized by abstract "causes" that we have forgotten the living tissue that gives them context and meaning?

One thing is obvious: if we love life, we will act on that love, by working every way we can to increase joy and diminish pain. And, by so working and acting, we will give the word "love" a meaning, and it will not be just another abstraction. In this sense, we will prove that to love life and to deserve life mean the same thing.

A Case for Congress:

"FLYING SAUCERS"

By Richard Hall

The "flying saucer" story began in this country in June 1947 when private pilot Kenneth Arnold reported sighting a formation of strange aerial objects over the Cascades. In describing his sighting to newsmen, Arnold said the objects moved like skimming saucers, and some unheralded newsmen or headline writer coined the term "flying saucer."

By 1949, in an assignment for TRUE magazine, Major Keyhoe had interviewed dozens of pilots, civilian aviation personnel, radar operators, and other responsible

Flying Saucers: Top Secret
By Major Donald E. Keyhoe, USMC (Ret.)
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York
1960—283 pp., \$3.95

citizens who had seen "saucers" (or unidentified flying objects—UFOs—as they are officially designated by the Air Force.) His conclusion: "Flying Saucers Are Real."

A graduate of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Major Keyhoe is a former Chief of Information, Civil Aeronautics, Department of Commerce. He was also an aircraft and balloon pilot in the Marine Corps. Once convinced that UFOs were real, Major Keyhoe began tapping many sources in Washington trying to dig up the whole story. He has published a series of books and articles on the subject.

After a gap of five years, Major Keyhoe has now assembled a mass of evidence supporting his belief that UFOs are intelligently controlled objects of extraterrestrial origin, and that the Air Force is withholding the facts from the public.

The National Investigations Committee on Aerial Phenomena (NICAP), directed by Major Keyhoe since 1956, has grown to include about 4,000 members in all 50 states and about 30 foreign countries. Among the membership are military and civilian pilots, scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, ministers, and others from practically every trade and profession. With the membership helping to gather and evaluate evidence, NICAP has become an effective organ of investigation. Results of the investigation so far are presented in this book in the form of a "Case For Congress." Major Keyhoe illustrates the oppressiveness of governmental secrecy and discusses the probable impact on society if the truth about UFOs were revealed. Highlights are:

(1) The case of a civilian airline pilot who was pressured into silence by the Air Force after watching three UFOs pace his airliner.

(2) Published statements by Capt. Edward J. Ruppelt (former chief of the Air Force UFO investigation) presented as sample testimony before a Congressional

committee in case Ruppelt were called to testify. Part of the testimony, in Ruppelt's own published words, would be that he was ordered to withhold unexplained UFO sightings from the public, and that Aerospace Technical Intelligence Center (ATIC) concluded in 1948 that UFOs are interplanetary devices.

(3) A report on the frantic efforts of the Air Force to hide the truth about the November 1957 "flap" of UFO sightings which made headlines around the world.

(4) The full story of the Armstrong Circle Theater television battle of January 1958, in which the Air Force put pressure on CBS to suppress certain facts and documents which Major Keyhoe planned to reveal on this network program.

(5) The strange case of an American Airlines pilot who was ordered by the Air Force to pursue a UFO over New York state, in violation of civil air regulations.

(6) A radio program arranged and broadcast by Air Force personnel at Lackland AFB, Texas, admitting that UFOs are real and that the Air Force is keeping the facts secret.

(7) Several "hidden" UFO cases; dramatic encounters with UFOs by pilots, scientists, and other reputable witnesses over the past several years, revealed here for the first time in detail.

By concentrating on factual evidence and encouraging scientists and public officials to examine it, Major Keyhoe has won a reputation for accuracy and reliability on a confused and controversial subject. Extremist elements and crackpots, who attach themselves to any controversial subject, have been given short shrift by Major Keyhoe and NICAP.

It all boils down to this: Unless a great many ordinarily trustworthy professional people and various experts are badly deluded, there is the inescapable conclusion that unknown objects apparently under intelligent control have been maneuvering in the earth's atmosphere for at least the last 13 years.

It is probable that secrecy about UFOs, as well as many other subjects, is a product of an increasingly paternalistic government. The specific secrecy on UFOs may, as Major Keyhoe argues, have been instituted by a small group in the Pentagon or some higher agency who underrate the intelligence and courage of the people. The fact of excessive governmental secrecy has been established independently by Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.) of the House Government Information Subcommittee, and Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D-Mo.) of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. There is no reason why Major Keyhoe's arguments should be rejected *a priori*.

The sober evidence in this book at least deserves a fair hearing. Major Keyhoe advocates a thorough and open investigation by Congress to end the controversy and establish the facts about UFOs.

Mr. HALL is a graduate of Tulane University, New Orleans, La., and Secretary of the National Investigations Committee on Aerial Phenomena.

"THE RIGHT TO VIEWS BUT . . ."



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 106

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1960

No. 117

It seems that THE MINORITY OF ONE is quickly establishing a national record for being quoted not only in other publications but in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as well. Were all the five complete articles from our May issue read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the spirit with which Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D., Mass.) introduced *Vagrancy and Arrest on Suspicion* by Justice William O. Douglas, we would have had a genuine reason to rejoice. It seems, however, that the departure of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy has caused vigorous competition among the contenders for the No. 1 spot of the reactionary, bigoted and hateful segments in our society. That THE MINORITY OF ONE has provided a pretext for a frontal attack upon the freedom of thought and expression in the U. S. Congress can only sadden us.

On July 2, we received a postcard which stated:

"Gentlemen:

I have never heard of you, but Rep. Carroll Reece in his slander (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 24, 1960, pp. A5441-43) put some of your items in print, and I like what you write. Straight. No nonsense. Can I subscribe? How much? May I have a sample copy to show around?

WM. LIVANT"

So, after thanking Rep. Reece, in our mind, for unwittingly recruiting an enthusiastic reader for us, (we have since received quite a number of subscriptions from the same source) we consulted the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and wow, what we found!

Under the ominous heading *Clairvoyance or Propaganda* the Hon. B. Carroll Reece from Tennessee read into the RECORD not less than four complete articles from our May issue, in addition to other quotes. To satisfy anyone's curiosity we are reprinting Rep. Reece's accompanying comments.

"Mr. Speaker, the events of the past few months make it quite clear that the Communist conspiracy is still an effective instrument and that the cold war is being prosecuted relentlessly by those who have nothing but contempt for the liberties which we cherish.

"A publication has recently come to my attention entitled 'The Minority of One.' It is published by the Minority of One, Inc., Post Office Box 6594, Richmond, Va., and its publisher states that 'Regrettably, this publication is printed in a non-unionized plant due to the local unavailability of a unionized printing plant.'

"It is rather amazing that an elaborately printed magazine in several colors could be sold on newsstands without any advertising. The publisher states on the masthead, 'No commercial advertising accepted.'

Our reply to Rep. Reece's linking of this publication to any conspiracy is contained in a telegram we sent him, reproduced elsewhere in this report. As to the Congressman's amazement that a publication can be printed without the benefit of commercial advertising, we cannot dispute the gentleman's authority in the matter. As a former publisher of the BRISTOL HERALD COURIER he knows the intricacies of the business. The analogy with a "lady" who is commercially peddling love is quite apt. Wouldn't she be contemptuous of any woman who is too "stupid" to turn her charms, feelings and romanticism into a commercial enterprise?

Rep. Reece then proceeded:

"Mr. Speaker, my colleagues may wonder why I am bringing this publication to their attention. In an article published before President Eisenhower left for Paris, on the front page of this publication it predicts the failure of the

summit conference in these words: 'Toward the Summit, A Predetermined Failure?'

"I am inserting at this point in my remarks, the entire statement in which this virtually unknown publication accurately predicts that an accommodation with the Russians was impossible."

After implicitly reprimanding us for the "subversive" accuracy of our summit prediction (which was, by the way, published even before the U-2 flight), and after inserting the entire article, Rep. Reece continued:

"Mr. Speaker, as a further indication that this particular publication should be carefully reviewed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as well as by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it is noteworthy that it attempts to defend the entire Castro regime in Cuba in an article which appears immediately after predictions concerning the summit. I request leave to insert this article at this point in my remarks: 'THE COST OF TRUTH.'

That from the forum of the United States Congress an admission would be made that the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation exist to "review" people's and the "free" press's opinions is an unprecedented instance of cynical candor. Not even a McCarthy would have ever admitted that, and chances are that the Congressman might be reprimanded by J. Edgar Hoover, who certainly is not interested in advertising all of his preoccupations.

Once the articles *The Cost of Truth* and *What Is Really Happening In Cuba?* were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Rep. Reece set the stage for the introduction of additional "compromising" material. Indeed, what he had to say at this point seems to have been the true source of his indignation:

"Mr. Speaker, all of us in America have the right to form our own personal views on national policies, but I have never seen a publication which so blatantly attacks most of the ideals and beliefs of the American people in a special column entitled, 'Of What I Am Ashamed.' So that this obvious new effort to infiltrate the American intellectual community may be revealed, I request leave to insert the publisher's comments in this article at this point in my remarks."

Of course, the proposition that everyone has "the right to form . . . personal views, but . . ." is not new, and were the Honorable B. Carroll Reece to invoke authority, he could refer to such spiritual fathers as Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin and a host of our own domestic would-be tyrants.

In order to refresh our readers' memory of our "blatant attacks" and also to make clear what the Congressman conceives of as "most of the ideals and beliefs of the American people" we are reproducing the entire *Of What I Am Ashamed* column from our May issue:

OF WHAT I AM ASHAMED:

OF the U. S. Advisory Commission on Information for urging that this country's propaganda machinery be given full Cabinet status.

OF the Administration's hospitality extended to Generalissimo Franco's Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella.

OF the Axacan Memorial Award bestowed on Fernando Maria Castiella, Spanish Foreign Minister, by the Georgetown University.

OF President Eisenhower's tongue in cheek response to recent press queries on his opinion of lunch counter segregation.

OF former President Harry S. Truman's defense of segregationist store practices in the South.

OF the State Department's refusal to permit Rep. Charles O. Porter, a critic of the Administration's non-recognition policy, to travel to the Chinese mainland.

OF the furor raised by Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, against the Rev. Henry Gooch for delivering a sermon at West Point advocating racial intermarriage.

OF the fines imposed by Judge Eugene Loe of Montgomery, Ala., on 13 white and 7 Negro defendants for their "crime" of having lunch together.

OF the racist hooligans in various communities in Florida and Georgia involved in what seems to be an organized campaign of physical assaults on Negroes demonstrating for equal rights.

OF the appointment of a former FBI investigator of James R. Hoffa to the three-man Board of Monitors of the Teamsters Union.

OF the Federal Power Commission's chairman Jerome Kuykendall for secret contacts with a representative of a gas company, resulting in changes in decisions regarding the company's (Midwestern Gas Transmission Co.) permission to pipe gas from Canada.

OF the soap-opera-family-situation comedy provided by two families, including wives, children, etc., in the Wisconsin primary: the Kennedys and the Humphreys.

OF Florida-based airplanes raiding Cuban territory as positively proved by one such plane being shot down by Castro's forces.

OF the University of Illinois for suspending Dr. Leo F. Koch, assistant professor of biological sciences, for advocating an "unacceptable" theory on sexual behavior.

OF Frank Sinatra's yielding to pressure in firing Albert Maltz as the screen playwright for the film "The Execution of Pvt. Slovik," because the latter went to jail in 1947 when he refused to answer questions before a congressional committee on alleged Communist leanings.

OF the House Ways and Means Committee, the American Medical Association and President Eisenhower for defeating Rep. Alme J. Forand's bill to provide medical and hospital care for persons over 65 drawing Social Security benefits.

OF the New Hampshire Supreme Court's rejection of an appeal by Dr. Willard Uphaus, 69, former Methodist minister and Christian pacifist, jailed since December 14th for refusing to turn over the guest list of a pacifist meeting of the World Fellowship in 1954 to the state's Attorney General.

We do not believe Rep. Reece's attack warrants a more elaborate reply than the one provided in the telegram we sent to him on July 2nd:

DOMESTIC SERVICE		WESTERN UNION		INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate.		TELEGRAM		Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate.	
TELEGRAM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			FULL RATE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAY LETTER	<input type="checkbox"/>			LETTER TELEGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>
NIGHT LETTER	<input type="checkbox"/>			PHONE SHOT	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO: CONGRESSMAN B. CARROLL REECE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JULY 2, 1960

UNDER CONGRESSIONAL IMMUNITY YOU HAVE LAUNCHED A SLANDEROUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THIS PUBLICATION APPENDING THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF JUNE 24 WITH AN ACCUSATION OF ITS BEING A PART OF AN ANTI-AMERICAN CONSPIRACY. I HEREBY CHALLENGE YOU TO REITERATE YOUR ACCUSATION OUTSIDE THE CONGRESSIONAL SANCTUARY, IF YOU KNOW ME TO BE A PART OF ANY CONSPIRACY, DO ACCEPT AN OPPORTUNITY OF HAVING IT PROVED TO AND CONFIRMED BY A COURT OF LAW. IF YOU ARE NOTHING BUT A DEMAGOGIC, IRRESPONSIBLE SLANDERER, LET THE LAW OF THIS LAND PROTECT ME AGAINST YOUR VICIOUSNESS. YOUR ACTION IS SUBVERTING THE VERY CONSTITUTION YOU HAVE SWORN TO UPHOLD, EITHER SPEAK UP LIKE A MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS AVALONIS OR SHUT UP LIKE A COWARD WHO SHOOTS ONLY IN AN OPPONENT'S BACK.

WITHOUT A SHADE OF RESPECT,

M. S. ARNONI, EDITOR
THE MINORITY OF ONE

RICHMOND, VA.

Of course, depending on the source, an insult may sometimes be quite a compliment. As Dr. Leo Koch wrote us: "I would prefer to be lambasted by Rep. Carroll Reece rather than be praised by him." And, the American Civil Liberties Union had this to say about Rep. Reece's "saving of the Republic":

"I had not known about the attack on your publication in the Congressional Record by Congressman B. Carroll Reece. While the Congressman has every right to express his opinion, his suggestion that the House Un-American Activities Committee investigate your publication is a shocking one. I do appreciate your letting me know about this attack which we will publicize in our weekly news service in the near future.

Sincerely yours,
ALAN REITMAN,
Associate Director,
American Civil Liberties Union".

A Graduate Looks at the World

Roger Schneier is a 1960 graduate from De Witt Clinton High School in New York, N. Y. He wrote an essay for the Manufacturers Trust Company contest... He wrote us: "I realize that the publication of this essay would make me ineligible for the contest. If I must choose between THE MINORITY OF ONE and the contest, I will certainly choose THE MINORITY." We wish a day would come when our students would stand a chance of winning contests for essays such as the one which follows.

As the time approaches for me to leave high school, I look at the world and I am frightened by what I see.

I see the leaders of the world's greatest powers refusing to negotiate for peace honestly. I see Southern students arrested for trying to gain true freedom. I see many other things that bother me: nuclear testing, suppression of human rights and dignity, American intervention in Cuba.

Men like General Maderas tell us that the United States has nuclear weapons equivalent to ten tons of T.N.T. for every man, woman and child on Earth. Still, government agencies and some people's "representatives" want more nuclear tests. Just recently, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission stated that the temporary moratorium on nuclear tests has caused a setback in our weapon development; our present potential to kill every human being on earth still does not satisfy him.

But there is also a great urge for freedom and dignity throughout the world. As a reaction to that urge, the French government suppresses the Algerian revolt; the South African government shoots Negro demonstrators; American investors do their "best" to upset the Cuban revolution; Southern segregationists assault Negroes for sitting at lunch counters; and the House Committee on Un-American Activities persecutes people through the abuse of its authority.

All is not dark, however. There are groups like the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, The Congress for Racial Equality, The Fair Play for Cuba Committee and many others genuinely devoted to peace and freedom.

In Korea, there was a fairly successful revolution. In Turkey, the dictators were overthrown and arrested. In the Southern United States, some lunch counters have been integrated due to the efforts of students: Negro and white, Southern and Northern.

Thus, the world is making progress. True, this progress is slow, but if dedicated people the world over continue their struggle, peace, equality and true democracy will eventually be reached.

This is the world the young adult is joining in his new, active capacity. What he has learned he must use not only to his personal advantage; he must help this world to become a better place for all who inhabit it.

ROGER SCHNEIER

From READERS' LETTERS

A 5-SECOND JUDGEMENT ON THE SALK VACCINE

I just read your first issue to come to my attention. I found it thought-provoking and in some cases alarming. Particularly the article on Salk vaccine by Dr. Zeisler (June issue).

There is a county health program of polio shots in my area now going on. My son is scheduled for a shot. I want to give him whatever safe protection exists, but it must be safe. After reading Dr. Zeisler's article, I am forced to withhold the shot until such time as I can verify that there is no possibility of live virus in the shot series.

I discussed this article with the doctor administering the shots. She was trying to convince me with words alone that there is no chance whatsoever of any danger in the vaccine she is using. I offered her copies of the article to base my claim on, and in about a 5-second glance she was ready to refute it. I could not accept her assurance since I do not believe she has the time or feels the need to delve deeply into the circumstances that enter into the manufacture of the vaccine.

There has been much question as to whether each and every batch is inspected.

I would like you to send me five copies of the article so I can put these in the hands of several physicians. Perhaps they will undertake to do an article in rebuttal.

Sierra Madre, Calif. **GEORGE W. DUNTON**

"NOT TO VIOLATE THE LAWS OF NATURE..."

Your magazine is terrific. Our society needs you. You are to be congratulated on your article by Dr. Zeisler exposing the Salk vaccine fraud. Following that article, mention is given to attenuated polio virus vaccine (whatever that is). For the past 12 years I have made an intensive study of health problems, and my suggestion is that all of the vaccines be dumped into the sea (although it might be bad for the fish) for the benefit of humanity. We live in a world of cause and effect. Diseases are effects. They result from violations of the laws of life. Imagine the thought: a person can now violate the laws of Nature with impunity; he will not suffer the consequences; drugs rule out the law of cause and effect. I am going to invent a vaccine that will make a person immune to drunkenness; he can drink all he wants without getting drunk, if he will take a series of 3 of my shots at \$5.00 per shot.

Melbourne, Fla. **DAVID STRY, Director, David Stry Health Resort**

MIND COERCERS

I was very much impressed with the June issue of your publication. I am getting a half dozen magazines along your line of thought. Most of them concentrate on a limited range of topics while your publication covers different fields.

I have been a free thinker for over forty years and I will admit to have suffered for it. It is heartbreaking to think of the wonderful men who have been destroyed in this country by McCarthy and that ilk. Of course, men like Corliss Lamont who have the where-with-all can fight this blight. No doubt there are many people who would like to be free thinkers but are fearful of losing their security. That is the club that is held over the heads of millions of wage earners. No doubt there are many more people who would like to read *THE MINORITY OF ONE* but they don't "dare".

You will probably find that people who subscribe to true liberal publications are like me—deprived of worldly possessions. They are lucky enough if they can pay for their subscriptions, but they are not so lucky as to be able to offer more substantial financial support.

I wish to express my admiration to you for exposing corruption and lies in high offices.

Alliuppa, Pa. **E. M. JORDAN**

ONE OF THE MOST APPRECIATED LETTERS:

It is vitally important for channels of criticism and questioning of commonly accepted, though possibly false, ideas to be kept open. I believe *THE MINORITY OF ONE* to be one of these channels.

Enclosed are \$10.00—all the wages I earned today cleaning another woman's house. I sincerely hope that you will receive enough extra financial boosts to keep head above water. Good luck!

Eugene, Ore. (Mrs.) **ELINOR N. JONES**

EVIDENCE OF SANITY...

THE MINORITY continues to be an eagerly awaited breath of fresh air and inspiration in this city's oppressive atmosphere of ignorance, anxiety, reaction, hypocrisy and greed. My wife and I have come to actually depend on the publication as evidence of the integrity and sanity of at least a few of our fellow citizens. May their small number grow!

Cleveland, Ohio **JOE GLUHMAN**
(Mr. Gluhman is a cartoonist for *THE MINORITY OF ONE*.)

DEFENDING "THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR"

So far the June 1960 edition of your magazine marks my third visit to your publication. It seems that it sells especially well in the more liberal quarters of New York City where I am able to find copies.

Yet, even with a handful of shops where avant garde "little magazines" and related periodicals can be obtained, it is amazing how many of them there are in existence, all fighting for display space; and what would be more amazing would be the average budget a reader would have to afford in order to keep up with them.

That was why I thumbed at first suspiciously through *THE MINORITY OF ONE* when I had originally "discovered" it, though the price seemed decent compared to some of the other intellectual journals. One grows economically careful after awhile—so-called "intellectual" publications are not always worth keeping up with; at least certain ones aren't, and this is purely owing to a disheartening predisposition of "ivory towerism" (or: let George do it) that certain intellectual circles favor. Or else, they skirt the real issues and swing wide paths around "dangerous" areas of controversy, perhaps engaging in dissertations that only some stretch of imagination could be called sociologically significant.

Now, your publication is a great credit to the field of honest, candid and intellectual journalism. And while I will abide by Voltaire's famed quote of disagreeing with some of the things you say etc. I for one hope that you can stimulate others with some time, ability and adequate finances (or even inadequate finances) to emulate you.

But... (and a "but" was imminent all along) you might also run the risk of alienating some of your liberal readers if you permit certain statements to pass on without clarification. For instance, on p. 2 of your June '60 issue, you bring out part of an editorial that appeared in *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*. In the manner this was handled, one well acquainted with the essence of journalistic procedure and the *MONITOR*'S reputation, would only rise indignantly to the occasion in the hope of being able to straighten out what might be a very easily confused matter.

You should be one of the first to realize that quoting a passage from something many times longer than the passage itself and repeating it out of context simply isn't done. While this would suffice in the usually slanted mass media papers, it cannot be expected nor appreciated in any publication laying claim to unmitigated liberalism.

Then—this hardly sounds like *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*. By an ever growing number of liberals, not only in the U.S.A. but throughout the world, the *MONITOR* is regarded as, perhaps, the most honest—and liberal—newspaper published daily in these times. The American Civil Liberties Union (to which I belong and head its New Jersey public relations-promotional-publishing dept.) has ranked the *MONITOR* for many years as one of the leading voices of liberalism at all times...

No more than one should judge your journalism from one sentence should any journal be judged by one sentence taken out of context.

Ridgefield, N. J. **CALVIN T. BECK**
EDITOR'S NOTE: A consultation of the *MONITOR*'S editorial from which our quote was taken would convince the correspondent that the single sentence faithfully epitomized the article's entire thesis. The quote, therefore, was not used manipulatively and we assume that even its author would not accuse us of having ascribed to it a different meaning than intended. While *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR* is one of the most prominent and liberal American dailies it is also one of the most extreme cold warring organs. We believe that liberalism in this day and age must address itself first and foremost to preserving peace. An otherwise respectable and respected newspaper that provides cold war propaganda is at times even more dangerous than an overtly chauvinistic one. The latter would not, for instance, affect Mr. Beck's thinking, but the former might. The support of civil rights legislation is extremely important but not when our rights be allowed to be destroyed by a nuclear war. "Palatable" war mongering is no better than outright "my country right or wrong."

DIogenes WITH THE LANTERN

Thank you very much for *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. I am deeply impressed by its contents even though I am unable to agree with many of the things you are saying. But then, I humbly recall Voltaire's statement, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

I feel like Diogenes with the lantern having found an independent mind. This in itself is remarkable in this age of Mass Man and mass mediocrity even in the highest places.

Temple, Texas. **MANFRED R. M. BLASHY, M.D.**

A HONEY!

The June issue was a honey! Please, send me three more copies.

DR. HERBERT ROSS REAVER
St. Petersburg, Fla.

ON ADOLF EICHMANN

Great personal credit is due you for your editorial "Adolf Eichmann, You and I". It would be exceptional coming from the pen of any liberal editor but coming from a former inmate of a Nazi concentration camp it is truly extraordinary. My hat is again off to you.

I suppose that in the case of Eichmann most people are inclined to suspend the rules, and yet, if we are going to be as completely fair as I think we should be, we would not write of Eichmann as if he were a murderer until he has been tried and convicted by a jury of his peers. That he will be tried and convicted I have not the slightest doubt, but until that time, it seems to me that you should lean over backwards to treat him as a suspected criminal not as a convicted one.

I point this out because I think you would be the first one to want me to do so, but in no sense should this be interpreted as detracting from your magnificent editorial.

Washington, D.C. **JUSTIN BLACKWELDER**

(EDITOR'S NOTE: I believe Mr. Blackwelder to have made a very valid point: our conviction of a person's guilt may not replace adjudication by a legally constituted court of law. Only such a court may proclaim a suspect guilty. Until this takes place, he is merely a suspect.)

TO CARRY ON THE BALL...

I am enclosing a contribution to your publication fund. I am sure all of your subscribers would regret it very much if you had to discontinue publishing *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. It is a fine magazine and I read most of the articles more than once—I am certain that others do the same.

I think there is a ripe time for everything. If the time is ripe for your ideas to take root and grow, your magazine will succeed in the teeth of all opposition. But, as Dr. Schneider says, "you are taking upon yourself a host of adversaries." Even if your adversaries "who are cold and cruel as steel" succeed in tripping you, another man like you will carry the ball and your ideas will go on and on forever.

In your Editor's Note you say "It is as if I had to justify my survival by serving justice and humanity as best I understand them." If you can break the spell cast upon us by the American press before we reach the point of no return, you will have served justice and humanity everywhere.

A man like you who went down into the depths and came up again has something within him that can never never die. I am glad that you have good friends; they will never let you down.

Chico, Calif. **Mrs. ALICE STAEHLE**

HE LEARNED THIS LANGUAGE AND PRESCRIPTION IN MEDICAL SCHOOL...

Not interested in your new copy of toilet tissue.

Rochester, N. Y. **HAROLD N. GERTZOG, M.D.**

BUT HE FOUND ANOTHER USE FOR IT

Your publication recently sent to us as a gift subscription is the best we have ever seen with regard to common sense and truth, and we have seen a good many in the past years. If possible, please, send us an extra copy of the June, 1960 issue, or reprints of the Salk vaccine article.

Merced, Calif. **B. PEAVY**

NOT SINCE E. HALDEMAN JULIUS...

Edna Nielson of Camarillo, California states in your July issue that "Not since the days of Halderman have I found a magazine as interesting." Now, I desire to inform the dear lady that he was E. Halderman Julius. He was named by his Jewish ancestors Emanuel Julius, but he married Marcell Halderman, daughter of the small town physician, and took the name Halderman Julius. I submit that he was one of the smartest and most alert and possibly influential men of his time. He undoubtedly committed suicide as the harassment by the IRS was more than he could psychologically stand. He, as you know, was an avowed atheist. I hope you have read "My First 25 Years" and his second book "My Second 25 Years." This man was one of my "idols." Something has happened to America; we have no Darrows or men like Halderman Julius.

I am enclosing a contribution as I at one time sent Halderman Julius. More power to you!

Memphis, Tenn. **ROGER L. HICKMAN, M.D.**

EDITOR'S NOTE: I am afraid I must accept the embarrassing responsibility for Mrs. Edna Nielson's inaccuracy. In her letter she indeed referred to Halderman Julius and the inaccuracy resulted from our "correction."

"IT MUST BE KEPT GOING..."

Your publication must be kept going; we simply cannot permit its faltering and, since you already have my subscription, the enclosure will be used for gift subscriptions and the mailing of sample copies.

I cannot tell you how carefully and painstakingly I read every word in *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. I certainly hope for its success.

Santa Monica, Calif. **SAM'L SLOAN**

PROTESTING AGAINST AMERICAN NAZIS

I received a copy of THE MINORITY OF ONE and was shocked to find, on page 14, a letter addressed to you from a Mr. Rockwell, "Commander" of the AMERICAN NAZI PARTY. I immediately sat down and wanted to write to Attorney General Brownell of the existence of such a party. I can't understand why such a party should not be considered subversive. If such a party exists and is allowed to exist, I weep in shame when I think of the millions of American youths who died in vain in the past war. They supposedly gave their lives fighting NAZISM.

West Hempstead, N. Y.

Mrs. NORMAN MENCHER

CON MUCHO BUENAVENTURA!

When your first issue hit the newsstands in my balliwick, my friend and yours—the newsstand man—told me I would enjoy your little enlightening magazine. He was correct! I have been picking up a copy each time it is available.

In our Country of double standards everyone that exercises his constitutional rights is branded a "Communist" or "fellow traveler" and secretly spied on in the "hope" of finding a pretext to smear him. Our Government seems to fear the ghost of our Founding Fathers who revolted against the constituted British Crown. Perhaps they fear the Declaration of Independence and the U. S. Constitution that tell the people how to form a new government. How can we trust an Administration that governs by spying, violates the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and substitutes police methods for democracy?

Best wishes to you. Until I purchase the next copy may your work be successful!

Adios! Y Hasta La Vista Con Mucho Buena-ventura!

New York, N. Y.

LIBORIO DE SAPIO

JOINING THE RANKS OF "TRAITORS"

A friend of mine sent me the May issue of your magazine which so impressed me that I am enclosing my subscription. I can only hope that you are able to rake up many more of your kind of "traitors". Of course, my being a Technocrat leads me to believe that you could accomplish more through an organization such as ours.

Keep up the good work. I also see much of which I am ashamed in our present political operations.

Los Angeles, Calif. LELAND M. PROCTOR
(Mr. Proctor is the editor of THE TECHNOCRAT, a news magazine.)

ABDUL HAMID, SODOMA AND GOMORA

My dear Crusader:

I sent you a gift subscription for a friend some time ago. Last night he showed me your June edition. In fact, I took it home and at 3 a.m. my wife and I were reading it. I am enclosing additional subscriptions, among them for myself.

I was born in Macedonia when that province was ruled by the bloody Sultan Abdul Hamid. To me the U. S. A. seems at present to be in the shape Sodoma and Gomora were in the biblical times. The ruling and possessing class is as rotten, cruel, immoral, inhuman, deceitful and godless as the people of those two cursed cities which God, according to legend, sent fire upon and destroyed.

I give you credit for trying. You are a noble human because you have suffered and know the score. Good luck to you and may you succeed in your noble efforts.

Chicago, Ill.

DR. N. S. HANOKA

A Thank You to Our Readers:

We trust that our subscribers will welcome the fact that our appeal to them for financial support resulted so far in donations totaling about \$1,700.00, in addition to many direct gift subscriptions. These contributions will cover 6-month gift subscriptions to a large number of public and college libraries.

We wish to assure our subscribers that their fees and donations are used to cover nothing but the printing and mailing expenses of this publication; there are no profits, salaries, draws or recovery of investment involved.

Were it not for the enthusiastic and generous response of our individual moral supporters, THE MINORITY OF ONE could not continue. As grateful as we are for this response, we are forced to tell you that only continued support on your part can ensure future issues until we eventually reach a state of solvency.

Much, we believe worthwhile, material, originally scheduled for inclusion in this issue, had to fall victim to the decrease in the number of pages from 24 to 16. This decrease was unavoidable for financial reasons.

We are aware that the attitude of many readers of this publication is not merely that of a magazine subscriber. Were it not so, we would not have received donations ranging all the way from \$1.00 up to \$600.00 (the latter from an individual of very modest means). On such enthusiasm we pin our hopes; only this selfless dedication to the vision of a more peaceful and harmonious world will ensure the publication of the September, 1960 issue of THE MINORITY OF ONE and many issues thereafter.

Our thanks must of necessity be accompanied by an appeal: let us now proceed to making the September issue: you doing your part for it, and we doing ours. It will take both of us to realize it.

THE MINORITY OF ONE carries no specific political message. Its name derives from its purpose—to contribute to the individual's intellectual self-assertion. You and I are the minorities of one, if only we do not fear our thoughts. Our thoughts may collide, or they may coincide or complement each other, but even then let us each remain a minority of one. If you lend us support on this, no matter how many of our specific views you may dissent from, we believe you to be our friend.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

P. O. Box 6594

Richmond 30, Va.

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Of What I Am Ashamed:

► OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE for the politically motivated withdrawal of its baseball team from Havana, and OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT for cancelling a Havana concert by the Howard University choir touring Central and South America.

► OF THE RULING BY THE MARYLAND APPEALS COURT that makes a person who does not believe in God "incompetent to hold public office, to give testimony, or to serve as a juror."

► OF THE U. S. CONGRESS for trimming the minimum wage bill of most of its substance both in extension of coverage and the actual wage minimum.

► OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S perfidious contention that opposition to his visit to Japan resulted from nothing but communist propaganda and hostility.

► OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM for:

- demanding an even greater increase in armaments;
- opposing China's admission to the United Nations;
- its demagogic reference to "atheistic" communism as a substitute for a more intelligent opposition to it.

► OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE LYNDON B. JOHNSON for contending that AMA's support would make him feel "uncomfortable".

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S announced plans to launch a series of underground nuclear test explosions over a period of two years.

► OF N. Y. STATE GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER for his determined drive to further increase the U. S. "defense" budget.

► OF F.B.I. DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER for false linking of recent student demonstrations against the House Un-American Committee in Los Angeles, Calif., to communist agitation.

► OF THE NEW JERSEY SUPREME COURT'S ruling, in the case of high school teacher Robert Lowenstein, legitimizing inquiry into a teacher's political convictions and affiliations as an employment prerequisite.

► OF SENATOR GEORGE SMATHERS for advocating a military "quarantine" of Cuba.

► OF THE POLICE IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, Md., for arresting Negro demonstrators demanding the desegregation of restaurants and the Glen Echo Amusement Park.

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S plans to put into production the new B-70 supersonic bomber described as a perfect plane for spy flights.

► OF THE CLOSE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION BETWEEN BOYD LEEDOM, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, with the staunchly anti-labor Senator Karl Mundt.

► OF THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD for ordering a legal-consultative organization, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, to register with the U. S. Attorney General as a "Communist-front" organization.

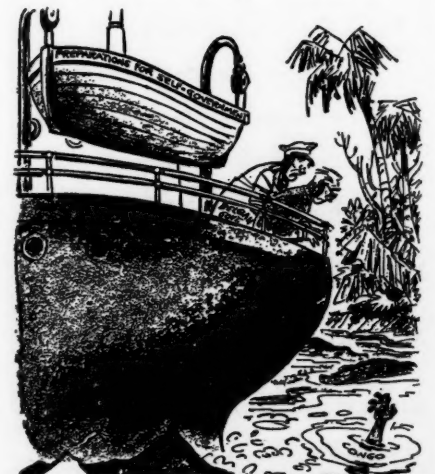
► FOR THE U. S. COURT OF APPEALS affirmation of the contempt of Congress conviction of Alden Whitman, a copywriter on the New York Times, for his refusal to become an informer of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee while acknowledging his own Communist Party membership from 1935 to 1948.

refuse to accept the goodies offered because they rest on a pedestal of hypocrisy, intolerance and greed, then the tide may turn.

So, while their "elders and betters" exclaim at their outrages, the young continue to try to become really better, in the interests of a better world. It's an important psychological and philosophical conclusion, really, and is certainly right in line with democratic principles. It involves the discovery by each individual of his own proper responsibilities and healthy relationships, without coercion by authorities, without organization and doctrination. We are all tired of dogmas, beliefs, rituals. We are breaking out of the old and grasping after the new, the larger vision, the more flexible patterns. It is the perennial revolt of the individual against the mass. It is time again for people to come of age. It is time to leach out all the hypocrisy of our values and stack them up against other values for comparison. It is time for new myths to come into being and lead the races of man together rather than apart. It is time to live again, before we die of being civilized.

So this is what is going on in all those outrageous young heads, both here and elsewhere. (Even the Russians have their Beatniks, though we haven't heard much from the Chinese contingent.) Rather than hoping the kids grow out of it and become steady, "useful citizens," we hope they keep bursting out with even bigger visions and swing this tired old world right off into a new axis where everybody can open their hearts again to the inspiration which created all the religions and noblest works of man. For there is a Way, and though it has no special name and many people claim it doesn't exist, it has been there since the beginning of time, and it can still be found. Individuals can find it if they struggle and dare and hope, and sometimes whole nations can become heroic through the living out of a good dream and they find it too. It has been lost for a time now, ever since the big Isms took over. But there are always witnesses to the perennial message of the Way.

"But I Gave Him His Independence, Didn't I?"



Herblock, in Washington Post

Confessions . . .

(Continued from Page 4)

Generation. Each older generation has been just as shocked and disgusted by the irrational and anti-social behavior of its youth. Each younger generation has proclaimed anew the universal manifesto of the individual creative person, his right to his vision, his right to be heard, his relevance for the times whether they can understand him or not. And actually, the Beats have much more of a colloquial folk flavor and hence more appeal to the general reader than the aesthetes of former artistic revolutions. They are not speaking just to eggheads—indeed, eggheads are one of their chief targets ever since the new university academicism in the arts and the acceptance of one-track

minds in this specialists' paradise. The message is for humanity in general, and what it says boldly and even bluntly is quite similar to the philosophy behind this and other minority magazines. It says—Dad, this is one sick world, and there's no way out except if everybody decides for himself that he is not going to make this scene, that he at least is going to try to get well and live and love before the whole thing gets blasted into outer space. If enough people come to this decision, through Beatnikism or any other routes, then we can conceivably halt the mad rush to extinction just by sheer refusal to play the game. If enough people get sick of being phoney and anxious all the time, and enough young kids like Stephen Bayne*

*See On Standing Up in the July, 1960 issue of THE MINORITY OF ONE.